



A Conference at the [Mershon Center](#)
[The Ohio State University](#)
 November 9-11, 2006

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This conference examines the struggle between white supremacy and black liberation in the American South through the lens of an extended war of decolonization or, if you like, insurgency/counterinsurgency. It takes the form of a dialogue between historians who deal mainly with military history and historians who deal mainly with the African American liberation struggle of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The purpose is to examine how the two fields -- military history and African American history -- can inform the perspectives of one another.

But the dynamics of 4GW are not new. They have been around for centuries, and might better be described as the playing out of revolutionary crisis. Simply explained, at most times in most societies power relations operate in routine ways that everyone within the society overtly or tacitly accepts. But once in a while the normal order breaks down. One group or another rejects the status quo. Exclusion from the formal political process, or a marginal place within it, is no longer tolerable. The very legitimacy of a given election--or the absence of elections--is questioned. The privileged place of an internal power elite, or a colonial relationship to a foreign country, is openly challenged. Conditions of revolutionary crisis emerge.

<http://warhistorian.org/mershon/war-for-south-main.htm>

the American Civil Rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s, particularly because it is strongly associated with nonviolent tactics. These tactics should nevertheless be understood as part of a strategy consciously chosen as the most promising means by which to defeat an entrenched power elite that did not itself hesitate to employ violence. Nor was nonviolence the only method chosen by southern Blacks to assert their claim to political equality. Some adopted a strategy predicated on armed self-defense.

The conference will take the form of four conversations between twelve discussants, each of whom is an expert in either military or African American history. There will no formal presentations. To focus the conversations as sharply as possible, the discussants have suggested preparatory readings which have been pre-circulated to each. The readings are listed beneath the most relevant sessions, with links to open source articles and essays provided.

Registration

The conference is free and open to the public, with lunch on Friday and Saturday provided free of charge. However, registration is required and attendance is limited to sixty persons.

To register, please send an email to War for the American South with the following information:

First and last name

Institutional affiliation (as you want it on your name tag)

Which sessions do you plan to attend? (if all, say all; otherwise indicate session 1, 2, 3, and/or 4)

Will you attend the Thursday evening reception?

Will you attend the Friday afternoon reception?

Will you attend the Friday lunch?

Will you attend the Saturday lunch?

(Please indicate if you have special dietary needs; we will do our best to accommodate them.)

Thank you.

If you have questions, please feel free to contact Mark Grimsley.

Discussants

[Michael Les Benedict](#), The Ohio State University

[Emilyle Crosby](#), Geneseo College, State University of New York

[Mark Grimsley](#), The Ohio State University

[James G. Hogue](#), University of North Carolina at Charlotte

[Hasan Kwame Jeffries](#), The Ohio State University

[Norma J. Kriger](#), Independent Scholar; Human Rights Watch, Consultant, Africa Division

[Wayne E. Lee](#), University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

[Jeffrey Ogbar](#), University of Connecticut

[Paul Ortiz](#), University of California, Santa Cruz

[Brooks D. Simpson](#), Arizona State University

[Christopher B. Strain](#), Florida Atlantic University

Schedule

Thursday, November 9, 7:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m. - Reception for discussants and attendees

[Barley's Ale House No. 1](#) (party room in basement)

467 N High St

Columbus, OH 43215-2007

Friday, November 10.

8:00 - 8:50 a.m. - Registration, coffee, and light refreshments

9:00-9:15 a.m. - Welcome

9:15-11:30 a.m. - Session 1. Reconstruction: The Counter-revolution of 1866-1877

James G. Hogue, ["The 1873 Battle of Colfax: Paramilitarism and Counterrevolution in Louisiana,"](#) unpublished paper.

James G. Hogue, ["The Louisiana Coup d'Etat of 1877: Rethinking the Uses of Military Force After the American Civil War,"](#) unpublished paper.

Stephen Kantrowitz, "One Man's Mob Is Another Man's Militia: Violence, Manhood and Authority in Reconstruction South Carolina," in Jane Dailey, Glenda Gilmore and Bryant Simons, eds., *Jumpin' Jim Crow: Southern Politics from Civil War to Civil Rights* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000), 67-87.

Michael Perman, "Counter Reconstruction: The Role of Violence in Southern Redemption," in Eric Anderson and Alfred A. Moss, Jr., *The Facts of Reconstruction: Essays in Honor of John Hope Franklin* (1991), pp. 121-140.

Brooks D. Simpson, ["Land and the Ballot: Securing the Fruits of Emancipation?"](#) *Pennsylvania History* 60 (April 1993), 176-188.

C. Vann Woodward, "Reconstruction: A Counterfactual Perspective," in Woodward, *The Future of the Past* (1989), pp. 183-200.

11:45 a.m.-1:15 p.m. - Lunch

1:30-3:45 p.m. - Session 2. The Segregationist Order: Attack and Defense, 1877-1965

John Dittmer, *Local People: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 215-271.

Paul Ortiz, ch. 7, "Echoes of Emancipation: The Great War in Florida," in *Emancipation Betrayed: The Hidden History of Black Organizing and White Violence in Florida from Reconstruction to the Bloody Election of 1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 142-170.

Paul Ortiz, ["Nineteenth Century Demands for Slavery Compensation: 'The Laborer is Worthy of His Hire,'](#) *Against the Current* #102 [Vol. 17, no. 6], (January/February 2003). (also published online)

Nan Elizabeth Woodruff, *American Congo: The African American Freedom Struggle in the Delta* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003), 74-109.

4:00-5:00 p.m.- Reception

7:00-10:00 p.m.- Dinner (discussants only please)

[Banana Bean Cafe](#)

410 East Whittier Street 43207

Columbus, Ohio

614-443-2262

Saturday, November 11

8:00 - 8:50 a.m. - Registration, coffee, and light refreshments

9:00 - 11:30 a.m. - Session 3. Black Self-Defense Groups: The Myth of Non-violent Resistance

Robert J. Cottrol and Raymond T. Diamond, "The Second Amendment: Toward an Afro-Americanist Reconsideration," 80 *Georgia Law Journal* 309.

Emilye Crosby, "'You Got a Right to Defend Yourself': Self-Defense and the Claiborne County, Mississippi Movement," *International Journal of African Studies*, vol. 9, no. 1 (Spring 2004), 133-163.

Lance Hill, *The Deacons for Defense: Armed Resistance and the Civil Rights Movement* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 1-9, 258-273.

Hasan Kwame Jeffries, ["The Ballot and the Bullet: Armed Self-Defense in the Alabama Black Belt, 1865-1966,"](#) unpublished paper.

Charles Payne, "A Woman's War," in *I've Got the Light of Freedom* (University of California Press, 1995), 265-283.

Strain, Christopher, *Pure Fire: Self Defense as Activism in the Civil Rights Era* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2005), vii-viii, 1-7, 175-183.

Timothy B. Tyson, *Radio Free Dixie: Robert F. Williams and the Roots of Black Power*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 244-282, 349-355.

See also Timothy B. Tyson, "Robert F. Williams, 'Black Power,' and the Roots of the African American Freedom Struggle," *Journal of American History* 85, no. 2 (September 1998), 540-570. Available through JSTOR.

Akinyele Umoja, "1964: The Beginning of the End of Nonviolence in the Mississippi Freedom Movement," *Radical History Review* 85 (Winter 2003): 201-26.

Akinyele Umoja, "'We Will Shoot Back': The Natchez Model and Paramilitary Organization in the Mississippi Freedom Movement," *Journal of Black Studies* 32, no. 3 (Jan. 2002), 271-94.

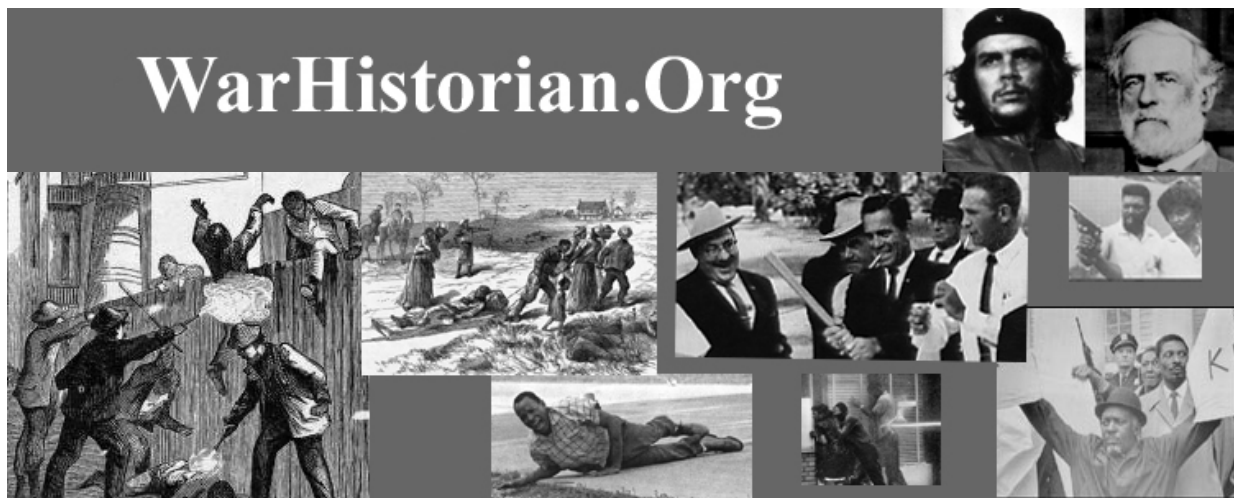
11:45 a.m. - 1:15 p.m. - Lunch

1:30 p.m. - 3:45 p.m. - Session 4. Round Table Discussion: Toward a Broader Understanding of War

Hannah Arendt, "On Violence," excerpted in Nancy Scheper-Hughes and Philippe Bourgois, eds., *Violence in War and Peace: An Anthology*, 236-243.

Thomas X. Hammes, "Characteristics of Fourth Generation Warfare," in *The Sling and the Stone: On War in the Twenty-first Century* (Zenith Press, 2004). [For an earlier, open source version of this chapter, see Hammes, ["The Evolution of War: The Fourth Generation,"](#) *Marine Corps Gazette* (September 1994).]

Wayne E. Lee, *Crowds and Soldiers in Revolutionary North Carolina*, 1-9, 221-224, 226, 334.



The War for the American South, 1865-1968

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Discussants

Michael Les Benedict is an emeritus professor of history at The Ohio State University, where he taught from 1970 through 2004, and where he also served for many years as adjunct professor of law. He is the author of several distinguished books, including *The Impeachment and Trial of Andrew Johnson* (New York: Norton, 1973); *A Compromise of Principle: Congressional Republicans and Reconstruction, 1863-1869* (New York: Norton, 1974); and *Preserving the Constitution: Essays on Politics and the Constitution in the Era of Reconstruction* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2006). He is also the author of a leading textbook on the Constitution and American society, *The Blessings of Liberty: A Concise History of the Constitution of the United States* (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, 1996; 2d ed. 2005).

Emilyle Crosby is an associate professor of history at Geneseo College, State University of New York. In addition to numerous articles on the Civil Rights struggle, she is the author of *A Little Taste of Freedom: The Black Freedom Struggle in Claiborne County, Mississippi* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005).

Mark Grimsley is an associate professor of history at The Ohio State University. He is the author or editor of numerous books, including *The Hard Hand of War: Union Military Policy Toward Southern Civilians, 1861-1865* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995) and *Civilians in the Path of War* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), co-edited with Clifford J. Rogers.

James G. Hogue is an associate professor of history at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte. A graduate of the U.S. Military Academy, he served for twelve years as an active duty officer in the U.S. Army. He is the author of *Uncivil War: Five New Orleans Street Battles and the Rise and Fall of Radical Reconstruction* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006).

Hasan Kwame Jeffries is an assistant professor in the Department of History and at The Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity, The Ohio State University. The author of several articles and essays, he is completing a book entitled *Freedom Politics: The Civil Rights Movement in Lowndes*

County, Alabama, and the Making of Black Power.

Norma J. Kriger is a political scientist and Independent Scholar who received her PhD from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1985. The recipient of numerous grants and fellowships, she is the author of *Zimbabwe's Guerrilla War: Peasant Voices* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); and *Guerrilla Veterans in Post-War Zimbabwe: Symbolic and Violent Politics, 1980-1987* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Wayne E. Lee is an associate professor of history at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. He is the author of *Crowds and Soldiers in Revolutionary North Carolina: The Culture of Violence in Riot and War* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001) and is currently writing a book entitled *Leashing the Dogs of War: Restraints on Warfare from Antiquity through Industrialization*.

Jeffrey Ogbar is an associate professor of history and Director of the Institute for African American Studies at the University of Connecticut. He is the author of *Black Power: Radical Politics and African American Identity* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004) and editor of *The Civil Rights Movement: Problems in American Civilization* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2003).

Paul Ortiz is an associate professor in the Department of Community Studies at the University of California, Santa Cruz, where he serves as a history and Latin American and Latino Studies faculty affiliate. He is the author of *Emancipation Betrayed: The Hidden History of Black Organizing and White Violence in Florida from Reconstruction to the Bloody Election of 1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005) and co-editor, with William H. Chafe and others, of *Remembering Jim Crow: African Americans Tell About Life in the Segregated South* (New York: New Press, 2001).

Brooks D. Simpson is a professor of history at Arizona State University and the author of many books and articles, including *The Reconstruction Presidents* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998) and *Ulysses S. Grant: Triumph Over Adversity, 1822-1865* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2000).

Christopher B. Strain is an assistant professor of history and American Studies at Florida Atlantic University. In addition to several articles and essays, he is the author of *Pure Fire: Self-Defense as Activism in the Civil Rights Movement* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2005).



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